20¢ JULY 17, 1950

New Republic

A.N.C.

THE UN GOES TO WAR

HOW MUCH MOBILIZATION NOW?

By HELEN FULLER

ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA IN THE USSR

By ERNEST J. SIMMONS

HAROLD L. ICKES: MacARTHUR THE UNREADY

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Battle for ASIA

● The battle in Korea is not just a military struggle to force the Communists back behind the 38th parallel. It is a battle for the whole of Asia and its people.

● It is, moreover, the supreme test of leadership in the UN by the free nations. Do we have ideas, principles and clarity of purpose sufficient to win the people of Asia to our side? If not, we must speedily reorganize our thinking and gear our actions to policies they can accept, believe in, and live by.

● The fate of the UN is linked to our fate and the fate of Asia. Our "way of life," our capitalist democracy, can be equal to this task only if we constantly reëxamine our weaknesses and engage in self-criticism.

● Liberalism, if purposeful, alert, tolerant and determined, can win against fanatical dogma in a fair fight. But it can win only if it is vigilant, informed and just.

● In interpreting this battle for Asia, the *New Republic* will be energetic and watchful, always with the great objectives in mind: support of the United Nations and the building of a sane and just world order.

● William Costello, whose article on "Improvisation in Korea" appeared last week, has returned to the Far East. He is director of news broadcasting, Far Eastern Division, of the Columbia Broadcasting System and has spent four years in Asia. His informed reports will appear regularly in the *New Republic*, as will many other articles and editorials for the duration of the struggle.

To be informed, to take part, to help in the creation of ideas and plans adequate for the task, read the *New Republic*.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

AMERICA'S ECONOMY is taut as a fiddle string. To try to superimpose war production on it without adequate controls would mean instant inflation. There was slack back in 1941, with closed factories and eight million unemployed, but today the unemployed number only 3.3 million (with a much larger labor force) and factories work double shifts. Auto output at Detroit is limited only by steel capacity; some building-material prices are already being bid up. On balance, this is a good thing for defense. It means the most formidable potential military machine in all history. But it also means less margin for error in conversion if that should be necesary. The slightest hesitation by Truman in imposing economic controls to correspond with possible mobilization would mean the worst inflation we ever had.

We are fascinated by the prosperity statistics. Nearly every day in Washington some angry, square-jawed executive denounces "Socialism." They have been doing it since Harding's day (Hoover, you remember, was a teensy-weensy bit radical). Well, the upshot of "Socialism" is a generation of the fastest corporation growth in history. Personal and corporate incomes are now close to the all-time 1948 peak and corporation profits before taxes are running at $33 billion, $5 billion above a year ago and within whispering distance of the highest rate in history.

Representative Ralph W. Gwinn (R, N. Y.) is one of the Big Business mouthpieces denouncing "Socialism." The Buchanan lobby-investigating committee has been showing how he operates. Gwinn is hired by Edward A. Rumely's Committee for Constitutional Government to write a $350-a-month weekly hate column against modern ideas such as income taxes. Then Gwinn, and other like-minded colleagues, turn their mail-franking privileges over to the committee. The Rumely group admits sending out eight million pieces of propaganda; the Buchanan committee thinks it may be nearer 50 million. Gwinn alone franked 2,450,000 pieces, which, at three cents each, saved $73,500. That is roughly $70,000 more than Rumely's salary to Gwinn. Lovely idea, isn't it? You may loathe Gwinn's column but you pay for sending it to yourself!

This Rumely is a tough egg. He's supported by newspaper publisher Frank E. Gannett and other palpitating millionaires and he has spent $1.1 million this year. Most newspapers aren't covering the story, but he has flagrantly defied the House committee. "Go to hell!" he told Chairman Buchanan. "Take me to court and you'll get an education." Republican committee members Clarence J. Brown (Ohio) and Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) are fighting for him every inch of the way. It will be harder to jail Rumely for contempt than it was the recalcitrant Commies.

We dropped in at the Senate hearing on expanding the Voice of America, and found six movie cameras set up. Then we understood: there, ready to testify, sat Marshall and Eisenhower side by side. As Ike leaned his bald, pink head over to his erstwhile superior, it was easy to see the cordiality between them. They whispered and tittered like schoolgirls. We thought we noted a touch of deference by Ike to Marshall, which most men accord him. Our only other observation was that both generals still wear brass-buckled military shoes with their otherwise civilian costume.

Common sense was voiced at these hearings by John Foster Dulles, who urged that in overseas propaganda "we must make plain we are not trying to force all nations into a mold of capitalistic, free-enterprise society. It is dangerous to use force for this purpose." And Secretary Acheson, in a striking passage, declared: "We must always be on our guard against permitting what we say to outrun what we do. Our performance must not lag behind our principles. We

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must remember that the truth cannot be monopolized."

At this, of all times, America has upped the copper tariff. Copper is among the most precious of war metals. At maximum production we produce only about 65 percent of what we need. We have been trying to stockpile copper; haven't succeeded. Copper-producing Chile is one of our best friends and will be hard hit by the tariff. Why did we do this? Well, America suspended the tariff during the war and Congress has been extending the suspension since. The new House 60-day stop-gap extension bill reached the Senate, where the Mountain State Senators blocked action by referring it to committee. So the $40-a-ton tariff is reimposed. Is this outrageous? Of course! There is no reason for a copper tariff. Is there a war in Korea? Yeah, but business comes first.

Guns win battles; ideas win wars. Many Congressmen still don't understand why we can't introduce overnight a General Motors civilization, complete with Acceptance Corporation, into a primitive agricultural country like Korea and make them like it. Along the 38th Parallel America and Russia were in direct competition as purveyors of ideology and, as the London *Observer* dryly comments, "The Americans lost out almost completely." Why? Well, ask your Rumelys and your Gwinns and your copper barons. Or better still, go to the Senate Appropriations Committee, where McKellar (D, Tenn.) is chairman and Wherry (R, Nebr.) the strong man. It still, heaven help us, can't get it through its head that America must make another type of appeal to the world besides force. It proposes to cut poor old Point Four—the chief mechanism we might have for combating global anti-Americanism—to a mere $10 million. Yet it's still true: guns win battles; ideas win wars.

Notes. Tydings is writing a scorching majority verdict on McCarthy accusing him of bad faith in his charges. . . . Wisconsin is the only state that makes income-tax returns public. McCarthy says interest payments surpass his salary, so he's paying no tax; he listed these payments at $15,172, which at five percent means a $303,000 debt.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Anti-Semitism

SIR: Of course we are sincerely grateful to you for giving space (the *NR*, June 26) to a review of the Anti-Defamation League's Annual Survey of anti-Semitism, *A Measure of Freedom*, which I had the privilege of writing. However, we were taken aback by the concluding paragraph of your writer, David Spitz. His charge that we labeled as "anti-Semitic" people who disagree with us on "Jewish" questions, is . . . utterly without foundation. . . .

In support of his statement that we use the label "anti-Semitic" loosely, he points to our comment regarding the American Council for Judaism. Here's the full text from the book:

> Stemming from the Israeli problem, too, was a clash which was a source for anti-Semitism. A sector of the American public, encouraged by the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism, alleged that the establishment of the State of Israel created for American Jews a choice between loyalty to the United States and their sympathy for Israel. This produced the base charge of divided allegiance which, repeated by some respected spiritual and intellectual leaders, created a harmful public opinion.

No reader will interpret this paragraph to mean that we have charged the Council with anti-Semitism. Reluctantly, I conclude Spitz calls me "an anti-Semite from whom other Jews need protection" simply because he construes my observation as an attack upon the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism. His sophomoric application of the Morris Cohen generalization exposes a frightful lack of understanding of religious prejudice.

New York City ARNOLD FORSTER

SIR: Generally an author protests when a reviewer distorts his views by taking his remarks out of context. Curiously, however, Forster appears upset because his words are taken not only literally but also in the broader context that makes the specific observation intelligible.

The reference to the American Council for Judaism appears in a chapter devoted to those who "encourage," "contribute to" or act as "a source for" anti-Semitism. Radio commentators and newspaper columnists who adopted what Forster conceives to be the wrong position on the "Oliver Twist" motion-picture controversy and the Walter Gieseking incident, to cite further illustrations, are similarly indicted.

I fail to see in Forster's thinking a sufficient distinction between real anti-Semites who for reasons of their own are bound to disagree with him, and those who did not share his opinion in these matters out of motives that had nothing to do with anti-Semitism. . . .

Specifically, Forster's failure to discriminate is evident in his strictures against the Council which, whether intended or otherwise, convey to the reader the impression of a subdued but nonetheless pointed charge of anti-Semitism.

Washington, D. C. DAVID SPITZ

Bad Faith in Korea

SIR: It seems strange that in the mass of comment on the Korean imbroglio, no one, as far as I have seen, has emphasized the fact that it has its origin in a crime—the separation of a people, the division of a nation, beginning in December, 1945, to suit the interests of two great powers. For this crime the United States bears chief responsibility. In the nineteenth century there were treaties between the United States and Korea, promising mutual assistance in preserving the independence of each. These were ignored when Theodore Roosevelt, in 1905, gave a free hand to Japan in Korea as a *quid pro quo* in promoting the Treaty of Portsmouth, ending the Russo-Japanese War. The Japanese took over Korea, their high-spirited ambassador, it is said, assassinating the Queen with his own hand. In the struggle that followed, the Japanese committed abominable atrocities against Korean patriots, accounts of which, reported by American missionaries, were recited by Senator George Norris in opposing Wilson's policy of handing over the Shantung Province of China to Japan. . . .

The division of a nation, putting enmity into the hearts of its people, is a crime. It was outlawed by Wilson in his declaration that no arrangement of national boundaries should take place except in accordance with the will of the people concerned. It is possible that the majority of Koreans would prefer the regime which puts their government in harmony with that of their neighbors in China. The feebleness of resistance in Southern Korea would seem to indicate this. As the *New Republic* wisely remarked on July 3: "It is a profound error to assume that the people of other countries share to the full our loathing of Communism, and in particular our overwhelming enthusiasm for our own way of life."

The resort to war by North Korea is deplorable, but in connection with military operations to restore the authority and prestige of the United Nations, that organization should recognize its function in the correction of the original error, and the restoration of United Korea. Nothing could be more fatal to that authority and prestige than the appearance of acting as the stooge of the United States in supporting a fantastic and fanatical policy in Asia which was already on the way to being renounced as impracticable—a policy certain to lead to another war.

New York City ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

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VOLUME 123, NUMBER 3, ISSUE 1859, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 17, 1950 **New Republic**

THE UN GOES TO WAR

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS died for several reasons, one of them the refusal of the US Senate to ratify our membership in 1920. Another important reason was the failure of the League itself to halt Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia in 1935 (at a time when the United States was willing and eager to apply the economic sanctions to Italy which many League members repudiated).

Today the world is at least not making the same mistake again. For the first time in history, an international organization has a punitive army in the field fighting an enemy who has been collectively ruled an aggressor. The white and blue UN flag, with its North Pole view of the Northern Hemisphere, will be seen on the battlefields alongside the flags of the nations which are contributing troops. Whatever the future holds, this is a historic fact of great significance.

Is the UN action legal under the charter? Russia says that it is not, and that the US is an aggressor, since President Truman on June 27 sent American forces into action some hours earlier than the Security Council formally requested that he should do so. Russia also says that the action of the Security Council was illegal because she was not present. History will have to resolve this dispute, as it has a way of doing; but certainly, supporters of the UN and the US make a good case. On June 25, two days before Truman acted, the Security Council declared that North Korea was guilty of aggression, and asked all its member nations to render every possible assistance to the South Korean government. This action was taken under Chapter 7, Article 39, of the Charter. But in any case, Article 51 authorizes individual *or collective* defense by its members whenever any one of them is attacked. As for the Russian charge that the Security Council cannot act without her presence, there has been general agreement in the past that an abstention is not a veto.

The action of the UN has been supported by nearly 50 of its 59 member nations. The resolution of the Security Council on July 7, setting up the United Nations Armed Forces defending Southern Korea, was introduced jointly by Great Britain and France and adhered to also by the US, Nationalist China, Cuba, Ecuador and Norway. The abstentions, in addition to that of Russia, whose delegate was not present, were those of Egypt, India and Yugoslavia. India, which had approved the earlier action of the UN regarding Korea, abstained this time on the ground that she is not in a position to send troops. Yugoslavia abstained, presumably, because as a Communist country she does not wish to take part in what is, on the whole, an anti-Communist crusade. As for Egypt, she seems to be acting out of pique because the UN settled the Israeli-Arab war—after the Arabs had been soundly defeated in the field.

By itself, the fact that the UN has gone to war settles none of the problems by which we are confronted; and every day that passes makes them seem more serious and urgent. Although some members of the UN are coöperating magnificently, others begin to show a tendency to sit back and let the UN carry the main burden of the military activity. France explains unctuously that she cannot send any troops because of the situation in Indo-China, a statement open to question. So is India's similar announcement. Equality of sacrifice should be the first principle of the international organization; if it is not invoked, there is certainly danger that the Russian charge will be more effective, that the UN will be employed only as a cloak of respectability for actions which the United States would have taken unilaterally in any event.

Also disturbing is the reluctance of at least one UN member to coöperate fully in measures needed to support the military efforts in Korea. As soon as the fighting started, the US put into effect an embargo for the entire Far East on private shipments of gasoline and all other materials of value in war. This was obviously necessary since Russia and Communist China are, at the very least, collateral allies of North Korea, and any supplies reaching them, directly or indirectly, might be of potential use to the enemy. Britain, however, seems reluctant to join officially in the oil embargo; while she has prohibited the export to the Far East of some other items, her list does not correspond with our own, and American experts think it is inadequate.

Most of all, of course, the UN action lays a heavy responsibility on the United States. What we are doing in Korea is being done under the direct authority of the UN; but what about our actions in the Philippines, Formosa and Indo-China? How is it possible to draw a dividing line between sections of the globe where the UN is in control, and those where we are merely carrying out the Truman Doctrine or other aspects of Ameri-

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can global strategy? The answer is that it is not possible. The entire Far East must be treated as a unit, and our policy in the whole area must be made consistent with the policy of the UN. That body is the nearest thing we have, or ever have had, to a collective judgment of mankind; it is imperative that this collective judgment should be stronger now than the voice of any nation or group of nations.

Response to this collective judgment demands that we repudiate the equivocal love affair with Chiang Kai-shek which is still urged upon us by a little group of diehard Republicans. Chiang now represents little except American money and the desires of a few Chinese capitalists and other adventurers, squatting on an island where they are not wanted, an island whose inhabitants wish and deserve to be free and independent. It is sometimes said that in the fight against Communism we must ally ourselves with Fascist dictators because of the help we can get from their countries. We do not believe this is true; but even if it were, why blacken our character in the eyes of the world by an alliance with a Fascist who is without a country?

Holding to the UN is doubly important because of the fact that the United States has, at least temporarily, performed its familiar mistake of promising more than it is able to perform. As we pointed out last week, the USSR is in a position to start trouble in half a dozen places, using the forces of its puppets and satellites, and itself never coming into the foreground at all. It can do this in Burma, Iran, Turkey, Greece, on the borders of Yugoslavia, in Austria, Germany, Finland. If trouble started in even two or three of these places simultaneously the promised American aid would be very slow in coming to some of them, and, for the first few months, would be spread exceedingly thin. Realization of this fact is dawning on the Europeans, who a few weeks ago were complaining of American "militarism" and today are beginning to be frightened by the lack of it.

In the light of the world situation, nothing could be more insane than the action of the Senate Appropriations Committee last week in cutting the money for the Point Four program from $45 million, which the President had asked, to $10 million. An appropriation of $250 million would have been a more sensible sum, and putting the whole program under the UN the only sensible procedure. It cannot be said too often that the war of ideas is ten times more important than the war of guns; that this war of ideas will never be won by shouting over the radio to the Asiatic and African millions how much we love our own way of life; that what is needed now is deeds, not words, for the colored races who have had so little from the white man but brutal exploitation. It is our own past crimes which make these millions susceptible to Communist propaganda; and they will continue susceptible until they get some evidence that we sincerely want them to have peace, prosperity and freedom.

THE WEEK

CAMPAIGN OF TRUTH

It took the Korean crisis, with Russia's charges of "aggression" against us, to jerk Congress out of its penny-pinching attitude toward the State Department's Voice of America. Five months ago Senator William Benton (D, Conn.) and 12 other Senators introduced a resolution calling for "a Marshall Plan in the field of ideas" by means of greatly expanded American information and propaganda throughout the world. As former Assistant Secretary in charge of the State Department's information work, Benton knows a lot about Soviet propaganda tactics. The resolution caused no stir when it was introduced, nor until last week.

An impressive list of former military leaders and present government officials appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to call for speedy approval of the proposal. General Dwight D. Eisenhower described truth as "our T-bomb," saying that United Nations and American action in Korea had been "so twisted before the world by a shrewd propaganda campaign that it has been made to look vicious." Secretary Acheson said that the State Department, acting on President Truman's instructions, has already drawn up plans for "a great campaign of truth"; the plans are still locked up in the Bureau of the Budget and officials have refused to disclose even the approximate expenditure involved.

The present International Information and Education Program in the State Department operates on an annual budget of $35,825,000, of which $10,525,469 is earmarked for broadcasting the Voice of America. The 1951 budget request totaled $36,645,000, but the arbitrary 10-percent cut on all expenditures has knocked off $3.6 million. The new program will undoubtedly call for a vast increase in the appropriation.

Benton's resolution not only asks a greatly expanded State Department program, but a new non-governmental agency to use private resources in spreading American information and ideas. Benton said the Korean dilemma is the direct result of the "failure of this nation to project the idea of democracy in the world, and to publicize our determination to stand up for the things we believe in, and the principles we will fight for." He pointed out that we have poured a half-billion dollars into South Korea for economic recovery since the war, but last year appropriated only $1.4 million to sell the idea of democracy to that country.

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SEGREGATION IN DELAWARE

WILMINGTON (NR correspondent)

Echoes of the recent Supreme Court decisions on segregated education were heard the other day in Delaware's Court of Chancery, which has before it a suit filed by 10 Negroes who are seeking admission to the University of Delaware as undergraduates. Only a week before, the Court had ruled on two cases, both involving graduate students, that so-called "separate and equal" facilities for Negroes must be truly equal. The Delaware case will be the first interpretation of the high court's ruling in regard to undergraduates.

Attorneys for the students brought forward plentiful evidence to show that the facilities of the University of Delaware, supported by state and endowment funds, are far superior to those of the Delaware State College, open only to Negroes. The value of property and equipment at the University is about $7 million; at the College, $609,325. The University library has 160,000 volumes; the library at Delaware State has 14,000. The salaries of faculty members at the University range from $3,000 to $6,700; at the College, from $2,250 to $4,350. More than 640 courses are offered at the University, while the College offers only 240.

The Constitution of the state of Delaware prescribes separate public (elementary and secondary) schools. However, neither the Delaware Constitution nor any Delaware statute specifically requires segregation of white and Negro persons at the college level. The attorneys for the defense, representing the University and its trustees, have attempted to prove that the University is not purely a state institution. When it was founded in 1765, it was completely endowed. In 1913, by act of the Delaware legislature, it "came into sole possession of the state." Appointment of the Board of Trustees is controlled by the Governor, who is an ex-officio member, and by the legislature. The University receives biennial appropriations from the legislature, in addition to its endowment of $7 million from bequests by private citizens.

Vice-Chancellor Collins J. Seitz, who has presided, is greatly respected by members of the bar and the general public. Columnist Bill Frank in the Wilmington *Morning News* said: "There was a comfortable feeling all through the trial that this court was and is actually a seat of justice. There was no fear on anyone's part that prejudice in any sense of the word even had a toehold. . . . From a public point of view, there was a most heartwarming feeling that here was a mind dealing in a highly judicial way with a question fraught with intolerance, prejudice, social patterns, and a way of living." After the testimony, Seitz, accompanied by counsel, visited both the University of Delaware and the Delaware State College to inspect for himself the facilities that have been in question during the trial. His decision will be handed down within the next month.

REACTION, M.D.

The American Medical Association, in its desperate attempt to kill public interest in the Administration's health-insurance program, has become a politically-minded, publicity-seeking organization. Admittedly, the AMA has wandered from its original purpose as an objective, professional organization of doctors united to keep in touch with every step of medical progress. A few days ago, it elected a new president, Dr. Elmer Lee Henderson of Louisville, Kentucky. For the first time in AMA history, the presidential inauguration ceremony was broadcast nationally, to provide another blast at health insurance.

Dr. Henderson told his colleagues that American medicine has become "the blazing focal point in a fundamental struggle which may determine whether America remains free or whether we are to become a socialist state . . . dominated by selfish, cynical men who believe the American people are no longer competent to care for themselves." The present medical system, he charged, has become the target of "little men whose lust for power is far out of proportion to their intellectual capacity, their spiritual understanding, their economic realism and their political honesty."

Dr. Henderson made some laudatory remarks about the press, timed to coincide with an announcement of the AMA's "nationwide advertising campaign" to be launched early next October, "to alert the American people to the danger of socialized medicine and to the threatening trend toward state socialism in this country." It is estimated that this campaign will cost the AMA $1,110,000, with advertisements in 11,000 newspapers and 30 magazines as well as over some 300 radio stations.

The AMA has placed John T. Flynn's *The Road Ahead* on its "must" reading list. In his book Flynn declares that liberals, New Dealers and advocates of civil rights are America's "real enemies." Edward Rumely's Committee for Constitutional Government has printed and distributed more than half a million copies this year. The CCG advertises that hundreds of doctors have "purchased as many as 25, 50, 100 copies. . . . An Indiana surgeon bought 1,100. The Oregon State Medical Association bought 8,000."

THE WASHINGTON POST

"Forward!"

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DANGEROUS POWERS

The Republican answer to the Communist sweep in Asia is to copy Communist methods of suppression at home. The Minority Policy Committee of the Senate, led by Robert A. Taft, met after the invasion of South Korea to demand passage of the Mundt-Ferguson "Communist control" bill before Congress adjourns in August. Senators Karl E. Mundt (R, S.D.) and Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.) appeared at the closed-door session of the Policy Committee to support the measure. Emerging from the session, Mundt told reporters: "The climate is certainly conducive for Congressional passage of this right now. If we are asking our boys to die fighting in Korea and other areas, we certainly should protect them from sabotage behind their backs here at home."

The Republicans feel they can arouse enough feeling, on the strength of the Korean crisis, to pass the bill, if Administration leaders will agree to place it on the pre-adjournment schedule. So far, the Democratic Policy Committee has refused to consider such action.

The bill, which has twice been judged unconstitutional by the Justice Department's lawyers, would require Communists and leaders of Communist-front organizations to register with the Justice Department, would ban them from government jobs and provide stiff fines and jail terms for anyone "conspiring" to establish a Communist dictatorship. It would set up a Subversive Activities Commission with broad powers. The criteria used by the bill for the identification of Communist-front organizations are so broad that if a few Communists are active in connection with a labor organization, even though they do not hold office, this fact alone would permit the Commission to brand that group a "Communist front."

Taft says that the measure will receive the full support of Senate Republicans. The Senate Judiciary Committee reported the bill favorably more than two months ago, with only Senator William Langer (R, N. D.) objecting. Later, however, Senators Harley Kilgore (D, W. Va.) and Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) issued statements of disapproval. The bill never has had Administration support. Majority Leader Scott Lucas (D, Ill.) has repeatedly blocked Mundt's previous efforts. But adjournment depends on the Korean crisis, and if Congress must stay in Washington, there is a chance that the Republicans can stimulate enough pressure to bring up the bill during the extended session.

DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

The Congress for Cultural Freedom, held in Berlin at the beginning of July, was an impressive affirmation of faith by a group of intellectual leaders of the non-Communist world. Spokesmen for many European countries and the United States drew up a declaration of principles, and set up standing committees in Berlin and Paris to continue to serve the broad aims of the group.

The Congress said: "There is a bond of friendship and respect among the writers, artists and scientists of all peoples, and no distortion of propaganda can break this bond." They stated the view that "both the theory and practice of [totalitarian] states run directly counter to the basic rights of the individual and the basic goals of mankind." While insisting that "freedom cannot be secure as long as men remain divided into haves and have-nots," the Congress held that "the theory and practice of totalitarianism are the greatest threat which humanity has faced in all its recorded history." The two tests of states which threaten world peace, it said, are that citizens are denied the right to say whether they shall go to war, and that the states refuse to refer problems which contain a threat of war to an international authority to whose decisions they will submit. "Ideologies . . . must be judged," say the conferees, "in terms of the degree of liberty in the practical affairs of everyday life which they accord the individual."

TOO MUCH

Our enormous surplus of perishable foods has put the Congressional agricultural experts on edge. Senator Elmer Thomas (D, Okla.) and Representative Harold D. Cooley (D, N.C.), chairmen of the Senate and House Agriculture Committees, have indicated that hearings on the farm-price-support program would begin within the next two weeks. Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan will welcome the chance to reveal just how serious is the situation on surplus commodities purchased by the government, and how completely unworkable has been the farm legislation which was substituted for the Brannan Plan last session.

The Commodity Credit Corporation, which purchases surpluses to keep prices up, has in its pantry today: 165 million pounds of butter, 63 million pounds of cheese, 288 million pounds of dried milk, 103 million pounds of dried eggs (the equivalent of 300 million dozen fresh eggs). This equals, for each person in the United States, approximately one pound of butter, one-half pound of cheese, two pounds of dried milk, and two dozen eggs.

The CCC is not only running out of storage space, but has no effective way to dispose of this food. (The amount used by relief agencies is insignificant.) Brannan will tell the Agriculture Committee that more than 80 million pounds of perishables will go bad unless they are distributed in some way within 90 days. Meanwhile, the surpluses continue to accumulate at the rate of nine million pounds a week, while only a fortnight ago the Senate voted another $2 billion to keep on buying.

EMMETT O. SMITH

We record with sadness the death of a valued member of our office staff. Emmett O. Smith, who had been employed by us for ten years, was struck down six months ago by a mysterious malady at the height of his sturdy young manhood, and died on July 7. His cheerful willingness, his grave but friendly dignity, his unfailing interest in the passing march of events, will be long and warmly remembered.

Emmett Smith, a Negro, was inducted into the Army from New York and had his basic training in the Deep South. Like so many others, he was shocked by the treatment Negro soldiers received from Southern white civilians; but he did not let it break him. He became an outstanding rifleman; *Yank*, which published his picture, said that he had achieved "the highest marksmanship record ever made with the Garand rifle, at Fort McClellan, Alabama." He returned to the *New Republic* in 1945 and served us with credit until illness struck him down.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

The Korean military drama of Russian challenge, American response and Russian counter-challenge produced the equivalent of a three-phase psychological drama in Western European public opinion.

The violation of the 38th Parallel had the immediate effect of strengthening some of the most negative currents of feeling toward the world situation in general, and Europe's role in the cold war in particular. The cynics, the pessimists and the defeatists had a field day. Since there are more of these nay-sayers in France than in any other country of Western Europe, the news from Korea was just another element of gloom to be added to that spread by the French Cabinet crisis. In one way or another, the cynics and the pessimists said: "Here we go again: the more things change, the worse they get; there is no rest for those of us who are sick and weary of the dangerous ups and downs of the play of power of our masters."

In its first phase, the Western European reaction to the Korean affair amounted to ringing the changes on the view that war was now really inevitable. On the other hand, it was also the widespread opinion that though war might now be closer in point of time, it might also be farther away in point of geographical space. The violation of the 38th Parallel wasn't a Pearl Harbor that would force America into a world war. It was similar to the Czarist Russian penetration into Korea in 1904 that had caused the localized Russo-Japanese War —that is, it was similar if the Americans would act as the Japanese had. Probably, judging by the American record of the last few years in Asia, nothing at all would happen, the cynics said.

The American response to the Russian challenge in Korea had at first the opposite effect on Western European public opinion; the second phase of the psychological drama was even more affirmative than the first had been negative. The minority of Western European optimists rushed out into the open. For the first time in at least three years, they literally overwhelmed the pessimists. The courage, the speed, the boldness, the vigor of the American stand whipped up currents which mounted overnight into a wave of a new kind of hope. There was far more than relief; there was enthusiasm. Except among the Communists, there was no open disapproval. Nothing that had come out of Washington since the announcement of the Marshall Plan lifted American prestige as much as President Truman's statement that America had decided to intervene directly and by force in Korea. Many newspapers stressed the American explanation that the action was intended to implement the UN's cease-fire order; but the man in the street tended to brush aside all but the dramatic fact that America had acted, and acted alone, had weighed the risk and taken it.

Even among those Western Europeans who had become doubters of America, especially of course in France, the man in the street said: "This is really new, and a change for the better." In all Europe, from Scandinavia to Sicily, from Eire to Greece, the only sour notes in the chorus of approval came from the three major factions of anti-Atlantic and also anti-Communist neutralists who have their headquarters in France. These are the groups around Hubert Beuve-Mery of *Le Monde* of Paris; around Claude Bourdet of *L'Observateur* and Jean-Paul Sartre of *Les Temps Modernes*; and around Jacques Gascuel of *Perspectives*—a curious alliance of Right and Left intellectuals with big businessmen.

What made the European man in the street cheer the American action was his belief that America, in taking the risk in Asia, had removed, or at least greatly postponed, the risk in Western Europe. In its second phase, the reaction reflected variations of the view that the Americans had stopped the Russians, that the Russians wouldn't dare provoke the Americans any farther, and that now some basis could be found for an end of the cold war. Moreover, it was good news for Europe that the Americans had not only shown their willingness to fight their own battle but also a willingness to be the policeman for the whole free world. The effect, it was expected, would be to localize the fighting in Korea and to bring it to an end quickly. Finally, the precedent would have the effect of reducing the American pressure in Europe for more and more militarization in the service of an Atlantic total diplomacy.

Between the ambiguous Russian reply to the American note and General MacArthur's message to Washington calling for the use of American ground forces in Korea, the third phase began in Western reaction, and it amounted to even more than a swing back from the second to the first. The lines of cleavage in public opinion that had broken temporarily reformed even more tightly in their old pattern, with the difference that the neutralists emerged stronger than before. The man in the street, deceived in his hope that America had struck a conclusive blow in Asia on behalf of peace in Europe, listened more attentively to the anti-Atlanticists.

Their main theme, set forth as the original Russian challenge and the first American response seemed to become the preface to a series of such challenges and responses, was that America had once more miscalculated the risk, hence that America's new boldness was a reason for Europe's greater fear. Asia is awakening, and no force of B-29s and tanks can be great enough to transform Syngman Rhee into a democrat helping Asiatics to make a new destiny.

The error of the Americans, the neutralists maintain, is to assume that power in the dynamics of the modern world can stress the military and the industrially mechanical to the exclusion of the human, the historical, and the demands of social and economic justice.

The Russians obviously made a mistake in violating the 38th Parallel, but the Western Europeans in the third phase of their reaction to the Korean affair fear that the Americans are making an even worse mistake in violating it in reverse—UN sanctions notwithstanding. If this is to be a Point Five, in effect nullifying Truman's Point Four, every success of American arms in Korea which is not accompanied by a policy of true help for real Asiatic liberation will aid the European Communists in their recruiting of Fifth Columnists.

PERCY WINNER

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HOW MUCH MOBILIZATION NOW?

by Helen Fuller

WHAT WILL the military commitment we have made in Korea mean to the American economy? The general assumption at the top level of government is that the US has now committed itself to complete containment of Communism the world over, until such time as the other nations of the world are able and willing to share this burden. What this country must produce in order to back up an undertaking of such size and how we must organize our economy in order to do so, are the big questions now facing President Truman.

Even if our conflict with the Russians drifts on in its present form, with neither settlement nor open intervention by Soviet forces, US military production is expected to expand tremendously as we replace material expended in Korea and equip Western Europe and much of Asia to withstand possible assaults. Mobilization of our economic resources will be needed to sustain even such a halfway war, but the sort of mobilization that is finally contrived will probably be considerably different from any of the blueprints for a new M-Day now in government files.

Those assigned to civilian mobilization on the Administration staff would, like our military commanders, have been better prepared on paper for a full-scale Russian attack than they were for the limited crisis the invasion of South Korea has produced. Detailed plans for freezing the American economy through an Emergency War Powers Act were drawn up. But the work done to date by the National Security Resources Board, established three years ago to plan for mobilization in case of attack, will be of comparatively little help to President Truman in any situation short of all-out war. The President and his cabinet are wisely refusing to make any move now which might convince the Russians that we want war. Therefore, discussion of even limited mobilization has been discouraged. But thinking has begun at the White House on how best to protect our civilian economy from the strains of the much larger military expenditures that seem certain regardless of the immediate outcome in Korea.

Naturally there is a wide disparity of views, both as to the size of a defense effort short of all-out war, and as to the requisite degree of economic mobilization. Those who were still committed to strict military economy as recently as last month, now talk in terms of increasing our defense budget for this year from $13.5 billion to perhaps $16 billion. That sum would permit the placing of orders to raise the Air Force by 1952 to the 70-group level long advocated by strong-defense men.

Other responsible officials mention an increase of $4 to $5 billion in arms appropriations for the next year as a minimum, while saying frankly that if our change in strategy really means acceptance of the idea that war is inevitable, we should be planning to spend $40 billion instead of $20 billion. Those with long experience in government who are willing to guess, estimate that a $5 billion increase in our present military budget is about what the President can reasonably be expected to ask and the Congress to approve so long as the present indecision continues.

Experts disagree on what effect an extra $5 billion of government spending would have on the structure of the economy. Congressional staff economists point out that the situation today differs sharply from that of 1939, when the World War II defense program began. Today we have almost full employment, instead of eight to ten million people out of work, and industry is operating close to capacity rather than at two-thirds speed. Further, prices in many key lines are already far too high and still going up, so that if inflation is not controlled, it will menace the price structure far sooner than it did in 1939 when the defense program bolstered a downward-tending business cycle. Those who stress these points believe that even as much as $2 billion more in expenditures would dangerously accentuate the distortions already present in the economy, producing still larger profits for business and higher prices for consumers.

The brain-trusters who helped organize the World War II economy are more sanguine about the flexibility of our business structure. They say that the US economy is strong enough to support a security program of any size required, and that if a few essential precautions were taken we could probably spend twice as much as today without necessitating strict controls. Those close to the President who have most often been right about economic trends emphasize the strength the economy has shown since the war, pointing out that it has held up in the face of the three rugged tests of demobilization, inflation, and the recession of last year. They attribute this vigor to government policies which have become accepted practice in recent years and to the general improvement in the distribution of our wealth that has resulted.

These experts believe that the true strength of the economy is still greatly underrated and that American industry, with the vast increase in productivity resulting from new machines and techniques developed during the war, could step up its production by another $8 to $10 billion next year if necessary—and with mini-

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mum controls. They advise the President that he can double military spending and still avoid rationing and price controls, if he will put the full force of the government behind a program to increase production of essentials like steel, rubber, power and railway cars.

The President's National Security Resources Board is not presently prepared to translate into actual plans the advice he decides to accept. The basic job originally given the NSRB—to produce a mobilization plan under which the whole country would share equally in the burden of a war—has not been carried through. Arthur M. Hill, the big-business executive and protégé of the late James V. Forrestal, who was originally named to direct the work of the Board, proved to be heavily under the influence of Ferdinand Eberstadt and other advocates of military control over defense planning. The first draft of a mobilization plan which he sent to the White House so shocked the President, in the power it gave to the military to control civilians, that the plan was rejected and Hill soon eased out of the chairmanship.

The President then ordered the NSRB offices moved from the Pentagon, where Hill had symbolically located them, to the old State Department building. The NSRB was left for more than a year without constructive leadership, until the President, only three months ago, finally appointed the vigorous young Secretary of Air, W. Stuart Symington, as chairman.

In the interim before Symington took charge, many of the ablest members of the NSRB staff drifted away. Routine workers took over the demanding task of constantly measuring our national resources against our requirements for security. Symington had just begun to get the feel of this new job when Korea was invaded.

The 250-man staff Symington has to draw on is only beginning to test out its designs for protecting cities from atomic attack and has not scratched the surface of the resources and production problems to be solved. While the civilians at the NSRB have stumbled and hesitated in carrying out their assignments, the National Munitions Control Board has had a large staff working with military precision along parallel lines. If an emergency arose, the Munitions Board would be far better prepared with plans for mobilization of civilians than the NSRB.

Symington, judging by past performances, has the necessary drive to recapture the initiative for the NSRB and obtain the civilian control over mobilization which Truman desires. To do so will require detailed and imaginative planning on four main points:

1. To break the principal bottlenecks to expanded production and assure a sufficient supply of steel.

2. To stockpile essential items that must come from abroad.

3. To disperse key industrial plants to outlying areas.

4. To equalize the burden of costs and to drain off buying power which would compete with the government for scarce materials. For this we need taxes that will cut profits back to the levels of World War II.

A gray market in steel is already developing. The added strain of even a moderate expansion of armaments would force allocation of the available supplies until more capacity could be created. It has been suggested that the President say to the steel industry that the country needs 10 million tons of additional steel capacity in the next 18 months and that whatever part of this industry is not prepared to build, the government will.

Preliminary estimates by the NSRB and the Munitions Board show the need for a five-year stockpiling program, to cost in the neighborhood of $4 billion, to store up such items as manganese (already severely short), rubber, copper, lead, zinc, hemp, tin and chrome.

The most definitive work done by the NSRB has been on the problem of decentralizing essential industries. However, elaborate recommendations on the choice of locations for new plants have been almost wholly disregarded by industry. The awarding of new defense orders offers new chances to speed plant dispersal, if orders are placed on the basis of security rather than cost. Since spreading the labor force would also destroy some major concentrations of Democratic voters, Symington's mobilizers can expect political opposition to their efforts to decentralize industry.

Unless the Administration adopts a strong fiscal policy, it will be forced to call for stringent controls before a large armament program can go very far. In the beginning, at least, there is a choice between controls and taxes. The restrictions of the former can be avoided so long as the latter are made heavy enough and reach the right groups. Unless a large part of present excess profits is taken away through taxes, they will go to bid up the price of scarce materials needed to meet government orders.

Short of an attack on us by the Russians, all-out mobilization is not in sight. Short of conclusive settlement of our differences with the Russians, a vastly extended armaments program, with the tightening of the total economy that will be necessary, is in prospect. If this happens, how far the United States will go toward economic mobilization in the near future will depend to a considerable extent on how the President chooses to break the news. He can tell the nation, as soon as diplomatic considerations permit, that extensive mobilization is needed now, and ask for added authority with which to direct it. Or he can let Congress go home until the weight of the new burden we have assumed begins to be felt.

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BRITISH LABOUR AND THE SCHUMAN PLAN

by Norman MacKenzie

THE TWO-DAY debate on the Schuman Plan in the British Parliament was overshadowed by the Korean crisis; but even under calmer conditions it would have fizzled. True, Labour has made mistakes both in timing and emphasis, and it has earned a bad press abroad. Yet after the uproar over the pamphlet on "European Unity" had died down, and after the special conference of the European Socialist Parties had been held in London, it was clear that Labour had by no means got the worst of the argument.

Much of the criticism from the Tory opposition and its foreign counterparts sought to make out that British Labour's negative attitude, as revealed by the pamphlet and by the refusal to attend the Schuman talks in Paris, was due to a myopic insularity. This charge misfired because "European Unity" was not a sudden and unpremeditated political spasm. All it did was publicly to spell out the assumptions that have underlaid Labour's European policy from the outset; and those assumptions, wise or unwise, at least spring from a logical and realistic appraisal of British interests.

The Tories are in a special tactical difficulty. Winston Churchill appears in one role as the protagonist of European Union, calling in sonorous periods for the limitation of sovereignty: in another, he is the leader of a Conservative caucus which has tried to make political capital out of British "extravagance" in giving economic aid to other countries (almost equal in total to the value of aid received by Britain) and which has fought almost every trade agreement which permits imports that might compete with specific groups of British producers in the home market. This two-faced policy is designed to win votes: it succeeds in giving Tory criticisms a curiously unreal appearance.

As many commentators here have been honest enough to point out, from the left-wing *Tribune* to the conservative *Economist*, it is ludicrous to denounce the Labour Party as a foe of closer European coöperation. The point is that Labour has consistently believed that such coöperation can best be achieved by inter-governmental agencies working for defined economic ends, while its critics have been looking toward some supra-governmental body or bodies with powers to override existing national units.

It is not merely that a Socialist regime in Britain fears that it would be swamped in such a body by the laissez-faire decisions of Bonn, Paris, Rome and Brussels, though such an anxiety exists and must be accounted for. The truth is that *any* British government has interests and commitments outside Europe which it must consider of equal importance with those that impel it toward a closer association with the continent of Europe. It may be willing to contribute its full share of resources to a European pool, and to make economic adjustments to meet the needs of its collaborators in Europe, but it must insist that these decisions be made by negotiation on an equal footing and not by the acts of a super-Parliament, even if agreement could be reached on the constitution of such a legislative assembly on a continental scale.

If the truth were told, almost every government in Western Europe would take the same position. There is no working plan whereby satisfactory federal institutions could be created. But there are many immediate ways in which European nations can work out common policies and put them into effect. And this, in spite of recent misrepresentation, is precisely what the Labour Government has been trying to do.

The difficulty, of course, is that the Labour Government has rather different views of what ends are desirable and what means are necessary to achieve them from those held across the English Channel. It is here that the argument about "Socialist isolationism" seems to have substance. Yet, for all the differences of outlook on European federation between, say, the French Socialists and British Labour, the recent conference in London revealed a surprising amount of agreement. Both, in common with the rest of European social-democracy, believe that much can be achieved by the proper planning of the basic industries of Europe, but they have some reason to doubt whether the present regimes in Western Europe either desire or are capable of carrying through planning of the right kind.

The Schuman Plan is a case in point. Quite apart from the vague nature of the plan as a whole, there is no guarantee that the proposed European coal and steel board would operate within a framework of social policy acceptable to Socialists. It could; but it might not. It is this that has caused concern in Britain. This country has a high standard of living by comparison with some of those which would participate in the Schuman Plan: would this large-scale rationalization drag British wages and working conditions down to a European mean, or would the others be brought up to the British standard?

There is a further issue here. Britain has gone to some pains to maintain a full-employment policy. One result

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of this has been a certain rigidity in industrial affairs, which has been expensive. Rationalization on a European scale, first of coal and steel, then of other important industries, might in the long run achieve the same total output at lower cost. But it might also produce severe local unemployment and economic stress.

In a Europe in which there are substantial differences in economic outlook, it is easy to make a debating point by attributing to British Labour the view that everyone is out of step except John Bull. But that point will score only with those who are in any case hostile to the methods and objectives of British Socialism. The Labour Party believes that, in the long run, its policies will prove more efficient and more beneficial than those pursued, for instance, by Adenauer or de Gasperi. Believing this, should it abandon its principles because it is at present in a minority among European governments and because those in Europe who think likewise are out of power? On this argument, there would have been little point in Labour's long struggle to replace the Tories.

So long as the greater part of the European economy remains unplanned, and directed by private enterprise, there is substance for Labour's suspicion of schemes for planning European industries as a whole. Such schemes jump a vital step, in Labour's view, for without planning on the national level there is no guarantee that plans can be made effective on a supra-national stage without reviving the old prewar restrictive cartels.

This is the crux of the matter. And so long as Britain has no confidence in a general European scheme, there will be an understandable intention to limit coöperation to specific fields in which workable agreements can be reached. Any step that seems to involve a threat to British industrial output—and it must be remembered that British recovery and capital investment since the war surpass anything elsewhere in Europe—or to British living standards, will result in an irresistible pressure from the trade unions for a policy which first protects vital British interests. Assistance and collaboration? Yes. But, understandably, there will be no throwing away of the very great gains of the last few years for the sake of a plan which at worst might destroy those gains and at best seems a gamble. Britain will, in trade-union fashion, decide whether to join the plan, after someone puts the real details down on paper.

London

GETTIN' ON THE BOOKS

by Polly Hayden

THE DEFEAT of Senator Frank P. Graham in North Carolina shows how powerful the Negro issue still is in a state that is generally considered to be one of the most progressive in the entire South. Race tension reveals itself in many ways, and not least in the devices which are used, even in that state, to keep Negroes from registering to vote.

The election laws of North Carolina provide that:

> Every person presenting himself for registration shall be able to read and write any section of the Constitution in the English language, and shall show to the satisfaction of the registrar his ability to read and write any such section when he applies for registration, and before he is registered. . . .

"Show to the statisfaction of" can mean many things—depending on the attitude of local registrars. These are appointed by the county election board from the precinct or ward in which they are to serve, and many are deeply entrenched in Southern traditions. Recent experiences of mine in the eastern section of North Carolina show only too clearly how long a way we must go before registration becomes a simple, routine matter.

As a field worker of the Southern School for Workers, with local unions in this area, I was requested by unions and many Negro civic groups to assist in their registration drive, from April 29 to May 13, 1950. I witnessed or heard at first hand the following incidents.

In one town, a county seat with a population of less than 2,500, I worked with lumber-mill workers and their families and we were gratified to see more than 200 Negroes registered the first day. This was not an accident: Negroes of this county were determined, for a change, to exercise their rights as citizens. In the past only a handful of Negroes were allowed to vote and those only because charges against the registrar had been filed. But even after this had been done, Negroes were often given the run-around by the local registrar, who, to keep within the law, sat in his car in front of registration headquarters, so that Negroes who did not happen to know him by sight would go away without getting their names on the books.

On Saturday, April 29, when the polls opened for registration, a steady stream of Negroes presented themselves, and up to lunch time the registrar took all applicants without undue questioning. But after lunch he had an assistant who was not so easily satisfied. This man would hand the Negro applicant a copy of the state Constitution and ask him to read Article so-and-so, Section

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Polly Hayden, a field worker with the Southern School for Workers, has for her territory Virginia and the Carolinas. Her duties include teaching classes in union halls, working with unions and civic groups on a broad citizenship program, and helping to organize and direct the work of the school. For many years she worked as a reeler in a rayon factory. She has been an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and spent a year as a special student at Sarah Lawrence College.

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so-and-so (selecting different sections each time). Many Negroes, in spite of having spent hours over the Constitution, were unfamiliar with legal verbiage and unable to find the place. Others were too frightened or shy to read aloud in the presence of white strangers. Some could not decipher the extremely small print. One old man courageously borrowed the registrar's glasses and read right along; another went home for his.

The reading test itself was not so disturbing as the behavior of the assistant registrar, who was slightly under the influence of liquor. If the reader was a little slow, he would take the book away and point out another passage, saying, "Maybe you can read this." Before the Negro's eyes could again be focused, he would repeat the maneuver, confusing the applicant until he gave up in despair.

In another county, I attended a meeting of representatives of civic and union organizations where plans were being made for registration on the following Saturday. Many questions were asked about what to expect, since in the past only a few Negroes had been allowed to register. A man who had registered the previous Saturday was asked to report on his treatment. He was reluctant to do so, realizing that he might discourage others. After much pressure he told his story. The registrar had made him go into a room and locked the door; there he was asked to copy an entire section of the state Constitution. This took 45 minutes, though he was a teacher.

After discussion, we decided that if a large enough group went the following Saturday, the registrar would be anxious to get rid of them and would not make the test so long. Fifteen Negroes arrived at 9:15, but only four had been registered by one p.m. The registrar was overheard to tell some white people that he would come to their homes and register them, as it was going to take a long time to register the Negroes.

Most Negroes in the area, with the exception of teachers, are workers on farms, in fertilizer factories, or in the lumber yards. No matter how well they might have written when they left school, their hands have become stiff and clumsy from hard work. Yet their ability to think and to form sound judgments is not affected.

In another precinct in this county a woman registrar had previously put approximately 50 Negroes on the books, merely asking them to read a sentence or two from the Constitution, and to write their names. Since then, however, she had apparently yielded to pressure; now she made the applicants read a section of the Constitution, close the book and write out its meaning—to her satisfaction! Ordinary workers standing outside waiting their turn saw even the teachers fail, became discouraged, and quietly dropped out of line.

In another town, where Negro determination had previously elected a Negro councilman, registration days presented a much brighter picture. Here the Negroes had asked that the law be carried out equally for both whites and Negroes, each to take the same test. Such determined leadership is lacking in many of the rural areas and small towns, but, bit by bit, with the spread of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and with the growth of the labor movement, the situation is improving.

ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA IN THE USSR

by Ernest J. Simmons

THE KOREAN SITUATION, which involves the United States and Russia so directly, gives special emphasis to one aspect of life inside the USSR—the portrait of America that is now being painted by the Moscow propaganda machine for the inhabitants of the Soviet Union.

Both adversaries in the cold war have long been waging propaganda campaigns against each other; in this, as in all propaganda activities, we are hardly a match for the Soviets. Their vast experience in political propaganda, centralized control over all the media of communication, and the fanatical devotion of thousands of workers give them a tremendous advantage.

The first hint of this new propaganda drive against America was contained in the August 14, 1946, decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which was aimed at correcting certain abuses of literary magazines and writers. Literature in the Soviet Union, however, is regarded as the principal medium for the spiritual development of the people, and hence a pronouncement of the Central Committee in such a field, hitherto quite rare, presaged very important developments. They were not long in coming in the form of successive decrees and official Party statements bearing on practically all artistic and intellectual life. What was in the making was an extensive ideological shift obviously calculated to meet the demands of a new domestic and international postwar policy. And a vital aspect of both the shift and the policy has been a national and international propaganda campaign against America.

Of course, there had been not a little criticism of America in the Soviet Union before the Second World

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War, but it was frequently tempered by frank admiration of certain aspects of our life and achievements. Now the condemnation is sweeping, harsh, at times even vicious, and no effort is spared to prove that the Soviets have surpassed or are able to surpass any distinctive American accomplishment in industry, the sciences, the arts, and culture. This bitter, strident note is heard in nearly every issue of the daily press, in the popular monthly literary magazines, the learned journals, innumerable public lectures, the classroom, the latest textbooks, in scientific conferences, in the cinema, on the stage, and in novels. Hundreds of thousands of men and women, enrolled in the vast official organization of agitators, carry this criticism of "imperialist" America into every office, factory, shop and collective farm. One of the stereotypes of criticism directed against those unfortunate Soviet "homeless cosmopolitans," the particular villains among the intellectuals in the new ideological shift, is precisely that they have succumbed to American influences.

Any content analysis of Soviet propaganda against America would reveal that it is built up largely—though by no means entirely—on abuses in our democracy, for which the Soviet specialists cheerfully quote numerous American authorities. In fact, their knowledge of this kind of source material is remarkable, and puts to shame the old stereotypes of our own purveyors of anti-Soviet propaganda in the mass media of communication and in the mass arts. It is nonsense to claim as an excuse for our own ignorance that official Soviet controls prevent the production of similar self-accusatory literature. This is true to a considerable extent and particularly in areas about which we would most like to know the facts, but the Soviet daily and periodical press is full of criticism and self-criticism. Obviously their propaganda specialists know English much better than ours know Russian. Today, with the publication of the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, which offers some 60,000 words weekly in translation, we have less excuse for our ignorance.

The anti-Americanism at which Soviet propagandists are pounding away for mass consumption is nowhere on better display than in the drama. For the playwright, as Konstantin Simonov declared in *Pravda*, "has an obligation to be a politician." Simonov set the example for anti-American plays, shortly after the ideological shift in 1946, with his spectacularly successful "Russian Question," which was reported to have been performed in 500 Soviet theatres, and has been put on in several of the satellite countries and in Eastern Germany. The play was aimed at the venal American press and at the money-madness of Americans which results in corruption in business, politics and even in love—all favorite themes now among Soviet propagandists. But as so often in their efforts, an attempt is also made here to differentiate the progressively-minded American from the imperialistically-minded, warmongering, evil bosses—the young correspondent Smith finally refuses a large sum of money to write for his editor a book which will misrepresent the Russians.

Ideological considerations apart, Soviet dramatists, like American dramatists, cannot resist a winner—and "The Russian Question" was a great financial success—with the result that imitations were promptly forthcoming. Besides, the decree of the Central Committee on "The Repertory of the Dramatic Theatres and Measures for Its Improvements" made the writing of anti-American plays a patriotic duty. A cursory check of productions over the last four years reveals at least twenty plays aimed at some aspect of American life or directly at our political and military policy. A number of these have been extremely popular in the Soviet theatres and in printed form, and a few of them have won Stalin Prizes. No doubt many more than twenty plays dealing with such themes have been produced.

Some of these are war plays which take advantage of the hindsight in this subject demanded by the Kremlin's ideological shift of 1946. In general this amounts to the propaganda line that the Russians could have won the war without American aid; that delay in opening the second front was deliberate American policy designed to bleed the Russians white; and that highly-placed American officers—so it is sometimes openly declared—conspired with the German military to save them from the Russians, in order to make use of their services in a future war against the Soviet Union.

For example, in the play "Last Boundaries," by Yu. Chepurin, the central situation turns on whether Soviet or American troops will be the first to enter Prague. The enemy had already capitulated and the German general was desperately anxious to turn over his whole force to the Americans, not to the Russians. The American general, Willard, enters into negotiations with the German general to hold up the Russian forces in battle across the river until the American troops enter Prague, in return for which he will receive his surrender and protect the German unit. The American top commander, Warn, explains darkly to General Willard the necessity for such actions:

> I say we must take everything from the Germans. We need men, tanks, guns. Everything, everything! As much as possible. We must seize all and then meet with the Russians in concord, as they say. Clever, eh? We must meet with the Russians, but we mustn't die from happiness in embracing each other. Tomorrow we'll wake up and there will be new concerns, new cares, and—who knows—perhaps there will be a new war and new allies. Even those very same ruddy youngsters from Cologne and Munich. Ah, all this is very complex, General Willard.

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On the whole, these war plays give a most unflattering picture of American troops, and the officers are usually represented as concerned largely with exploiting the population of occupied territory and, as agents of big business, seeking out the possibilities of future deals with the enemy. Naturally, the underprivileged position of the Negro soldier is frequently seized upon for exposures of American racial bias. In fact, the well-known dramatist Bill-Belotserkovski has devoted a whole play to this subject in the new propaganda drive —"The Color of the Skin"—with the scene laid in a Southern town after the war.

Nikolai Virta's popular play, "In a Certain Country," was clearly suggested by the Communist putsch in Czechoslovakia and perhaps inadvertently reveals the extent of Soviet interference in that event. An American financier, Henry McHill, and a journalist spy from Chicago vainly attempt to organize the opposition, which aims both to dictate terms favorable to American capitalism and to gain control of this state as a springboard for a future attack on the Soviet Union.

In 1949 Simonov followed up his successful "Russian Question" with another Stalin Prize winner, "Alien Shadow," which is also directed in part against America. It is a rather sinister Soviet attack on the theme that science knows no country. An old university friend, who turns out to be an American spy, persuades Trubnikov to turn over for publication the manuscript of his latest scientific discovery by appealing to him on the score of the universal human duty of scientists who recognize no national frontiers. After the exposure of the plot, a Soviet official addresses the guileless Trubnikov:

> In searching for salvation from sickness for mankind, you found a terrible weapon; you were not interested, because the Soviet people were not looking for that. They [the Americans] wanted to pick up this weapon. . . . Now you may observe how obviously two worlds—ours and theirs, good and evil—have clashed over this discovery, how it cuts both ways. Did you believe that humanism meant standing on the sidelines and loving everybody? No! Humanism for a scientist means fighting! It means being a soldier in our army in the struggle for the future of all peoples, all science, all culture, against all the darkness bearing down on us from the other half of the world.

It is difficult to imagine a harsher symbolization of ceaseless struggle as the essence of Soviet political philosophy and the irreconcilability of the two worlds than these words—a position which we ourselves are beginning to imitate.

Another Stalin Prize winner in 1949 was B. Lavrenyov's "Voice of America," a surprising dramatization of our headline news. The puzzled Captain Walter Kidd returns home from the war in Germany only to be told by his wife: "All you hear in every house is that war is not far off and that the Russians are threatening America." A friend, the reactionary Senator Herbert D. Wheeler, lectures the family in words that must have left Soviet audiences wondering:

> America confronts a great task—to give a broken and corrupted world strong moral leadership. It is the Reds who have splintered and corrupted the world. . . . We, who have healthy nerves, sane intelligence, and a democratic order established by God and our ancestors, must become the spiritual police of the world, purging it of foulness and sin. In fulfilling this role, we reject rotten prejudices and archaic reverence for the so-called sovereignty of peoples and the sacredness of frontiers. . . . The notion of order recognizes no frontiers. . . . America's western frontier today is on the Yenesei and the eastern on the Ob.

In the end Captain Kidd throws in his lot with the Communists after an attempt on his life, when he refuses to broadcast an exposure of aggressive Russian designs before the Un-American Activities Committee.

This marked tendency of Soviet propaganda to identify American policy with that of the Nazis and our political leaders with Hitler and his lieutenants (an obvious *quid pro quo* for one of our propaganda trends) is strikingly illustrated in one of the latest Moscow plays—"A Fellow Countryman of the President," by Anatole Surov. Haberdasher Charlie, who has failed in business, resembles Hitler after he has grown a little mustache. This fact excites the imagination of a Missouri political boss, Bob Hard, who is seeking a means of arousing Americans to a high pitch of war hysteria. Hard easily persuades Charlie to pose as the dead dictator returned from his hiding place and ready to lead an anti-Communist crusade. After the disguised Charlie has received the approval of a Wall Street representative, he goes on tour. But his speeches calling for war against the Soviet Union so out-Hitler Hitler that his backers decide such talent is too valuable to waste on a mere stunt; they run him for the office of Senator from Missouri. The remainder of the play is concerned with Charlie's campaign, in the course of which other easily identifiable American figures are introduced in Nazi guise.

These few plays convey a concrete idea of the nature of Soviet anti-American propaganda, though they give no notion of its abundance. Propaganda is mostly concerned with telling what is bad about us and ignoring what is good. We have some conception of how the American climate of popular opinion on the USSR has changed since the great Russian victory at Stalingrad only seven years ago: within the same period and under a more effective and centrally controlled propaganda system, the popular Soviet attitude toward America and its way of life has reached an abysmally low point of organized ignorance, fear and hate.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: MacArthur, the Unready

PRESIDENT TRUMAN met the crisis of Korea superbly. Firm to the point of sternness, without an extra word, he said what needed to be said in order to rally the moral forces of the civilized world. It was not his fault that his challenge to Communistic machinations was not made with the knowledge that he should have had of the facts with respect to the actual situation in Korea. Either someone had blundered or had been asleep at his post, as had been the case at Pearl Harbor.

General MacArthur is undoubtedly a man of great personal courage. Apparently, he is a good tactician and field commander, although there still are unanswered questions as to why he was caught off his guard in the Philippine Islands despite the warning of the disaster at Pearl Harbor. Just as in that instance, General MacArthur was caught flatfooted in Korea. He knew, or should have known, that the Japanese might attack the Philippines following their assault on Pearl Harbor, but so far as it appears, the General did not even suspect that the Communists in North Korea were about to strike. If he did suspect it, he should have been ready to meet it.

The Philippine campaign should have been thoroughly investigated either by the War Department or by a competent Congressional committee. But American officials, as well as American newspapers generally, took of MacArthur the same view that he seems to have of himself: that he is without peer; that he is a military and administrative genius such as never before has existed; that he is the repository of deistic qualities which mere man may not question.

If MacArthur did not know what the Northern Koreans were preparing to do, he should have known. Counter-espionage should not have been an unknown art to him. Congress had given him large sums of money to keep himself and his superiors advised of the probabilities. Since his has been the supreme command of the Far East, including Korea, his is the responsibility for the failure of our officials in Washington to apprehend with what force, and when, the Communists might strike.

As the result of MacArthur's serious lapse, as well as of Secretary Acheson's, "We love Korea; we love it not," daisy-petal-pulling, American prestige has been seriously compromised in a part of the world where "face" counts for so much. On the Saturday night before Pearl Harbor, the officers and the men of our Pacific fleet were indulging in high jinks on shore; when the North Koreans made their carefully rehearsed advance across the border, ranking Washington officials were justifiably relaxing over a weekend. President Truman, our Commander-in-Chief, was spending a well-earned weekend at his home in Independence, Missouri. Secretary Johnson and General Bradley were on a cruise and Deputy Secretary of Defense Early was in the Middle West. If the Communists themselves had set the American stage for their invasion of South Korea they could not have done it better.

The Chief of Staff and the Secretary of Defense had just returned from Tokyo, where they had held long and confidential conversations with General MacArthur. They must have come back confident that all was well in Korea, at least for the time being. At the same time that Secretary Johnson and General Bradley were in Tokyo, the indispensable John Foster Dulles was in Korea to satisfy himself that no calamity impended.

Most serious of all is the fact that, thanks to General MacArthur, South Korea was ill-prepared to defend itself. All American troops, except a small group of drill-masters, had been withdrawn, leaving an inadequate army of South Koreans, without tanks, without heavy artillery, and with only a few airplanes to repel the threatened invasion—one the military and diplomatic experts had been predicting for some time—by a well-trained, more numerous and more highly-equipped army, which was awaiting the proper time to overrun the border. And all the while, the imperial MacArthur was glowing with self-satisfaction at the deference that he accepted as his due, not only in Japan, but elsewhere.

Our civilian Ambassador to Seoul, John J. Muccio, had returned to Washington a month or so earlier to warn that South Korea was in danger of attack. With little support, he made enough of an impression to induce the shipment of some heavy artillery for use against the terrorizing Soviet tanks of the North Korean army. It has been alleged that a leak apprised the Communists of this shipment, with the result that they launched their attack before the artillery could reach Korea. The approaching monsoon season was also taken into account. As this is written, as the result of circumstances that do no credit to General MacArthur, although he exhibited personal bravery in flying from Tokyo to discover for himself what damage had been done, South Korea and the precipitately thrown-in American troops are strictly on the defensive.

And yet some of our newspapers are once more heaping extravagant editorial praise upon General MacArthur. His grateful and awe-struck country should give him another decoration. HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

ON TRANSLATING HOMER

by Eugene O'Neill Jr.

TWO NEW translations of *The Iliad* into Modern English prose have been published almost simultaneously. Each is reliably accurate. Each is clear and readable. Each reports faithfully the actions and the words of Achilles, Hector, and the rest. Each is provided with a useful and informative introduction, and will fairly serve those whose wish is only to acquire or to recover an acquaintance with the bare bones of the greatest of epics. Rieu's version has less literary merit, but is attractively priced. The Chase-Perry book is prettily illustrated and contains a flyleaf map which gives the reader more geographical information than Homer possessed.

The problem of translating Homer into English has exercised the talents of a remarkable number of scholars and writers. Among them are the reputable names of Chapman, Pope, Cowper and, in America, Bryant. Matthew Arnold devoted a now famous essay to the question. Every translation has been variously lauded and damned by succeeding generations of readers and critics.

THE ILIAD. A new translation by E. V. Rieu (Penguin Classics; 65 cents).

THE ILIAD. Translated by Alston Hurd Chase and William G. Perry Jr. (Atlantic-Little, Brown; $5).

The Iliad and *The Odyssey* are poems, and a verse translation would therefore seem mandatory; so much so that one might expect a merely mediocre effort in verse to be superior to the best that could be achieved in prose. Yet this is not at all the case. The very best verse translations fall lamentably short of being Homeric. They report, with differing fidelity, Homer's substance, but they have not Homer's manner, which means Homer's style.

This is a style that has not existed in English poetry since *Beowulf*. It is the special result of the fact that *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* belong to a very special sort of literature, which has aptly been called "live epic." The distinguishing characteristic of this genre is that it is composed orally and transmitted orally. The poets of Live Epic do not write their compositions down or memorize them verbatim. Each recitation is a recomposition. The poet follows the story-line, but he makes up his verses as he goes along. In order to practise this difficult art with any success he must be master of a specialized technique, very different from that of the poet working with pen and paper.

Live Epic is not a dead art. It has been discovered and studied in several parts of the world, and most instructively in Serbia. The stylistic analogies between the Serbian Huso and the Greek Homer are so striking that we must conclude that Homer worked as Huso works, and that Live Epic was the same sort of artistic activity three millennia ago as it is today.

The polite adjective for the special style of Live Epic is "formulaic," but this really means a diction that consists largely of clichés. The orally composing poet must have at his tongue-tip a vast multitude of ready-made parts: half-lines, whole lines, sometimes passages of considerable length, which communicate the things that most often need to be said. These "formulae" recite themselves, mechanically, while the poet is "formulating" what has to be told next. Without them he could not get far.

The art of oral composition is handed down from poet to apprentice, which frequently means from father to son. The clichés are thus preserved without change for centuries. Their language becomes more and more archaic, and even ceases, in some cases, to be comprehensible to the poets who use it or to their auditors. There are phrases in Homer of which neither the modern scholar nor the Greek of classical times has been able to give the exact meaning, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Homer himself, or whoever gave *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* their received form, was equally in the dark.

Literary epics such as *The Aeneid* or *Paradise Lost* have no such style, despite a liberal use of clichés affectin_ the Homeric manner. Even *Beowulf* seems literary when compared with Homer. And it is just this that makes the translation of Homer into English verse a hopeless and thankless job. There is no analogous style that the harassed translator can use, and his readers would be repelled if he were to create such a style.

We must therefore turn to prose, but it has to be a very poetic sort of prose, because we must not be permitted to forget that the original was poetry. The English of the King James Bible, which one may surely describe as somewhere between poetry and prose, is the best answer. It has many of the values which a translation of Homer requires. The diction is dignified and archaic, and commands from most readers that reverential acceptance, sometimes without understanding, which was granted to Homer by the Greeks. It was even archaic when first published, and if you doubt this, just compare it with the prose speeches in Shakespeare. It is frequently repetitious to the point of being almost formulaic, and its suitability as a medium for an English version of Homer can be demonstrated in many other respects.

We have long possessed an excellent rendition of Homer in King James English; *The Iliad* of Lang, Leaf and Myers, and *The Odyssey* of Butcher and Lang (Modern Library). Some years of experience in teaching these translations has convinced me of their enduring merit. The average sophomore balks a bit, at first, at the archaic language, but he often comes to like it after a while. It reads aloud well, and it has one infinitely precious merit: Homer's dignity and depth of sympathy are fully preserved. There are passages in it that I still find difficult to read aloud with dry eye and steady voice.

One may therefore be forgiven, I

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think, for wondering why Homer should be made to sound a little like Hemingway, as he does in Rieu's version, or like a Moffatized Lang-Leaf-Myers, as he does in the work of Chase and Perry. But association can be misguiding, and experience can make one old-fashioned. I will freely face the possibility that I am the victim of a prejudice when I cast my vote for Lang and his collaborators. Yet I wager that most readers who will take the trouble to read the Farewell of Hector and Andromache in Book VI or the Ransoming of Hector in Book XXIV in all three versions will vote with me.

If not, it will be because they cannot endure any archaism at all, or, at least, in prose, and in such a posture of affairs they should not read Homer, because Homer has nothing to say to them that they can understand. The whole of Homer is only for those who will read him in his own Greek. A great deal of Homer is for those who will read Lang *et al.* Only the story can be got out of "modern" prose versions, and this can be acquired with less labor from outlines or other illiteratizing compendia.

Eugene O'Neill Jr. was assistant professor of Greek at Yale University, and a lecturer in Classics at Princeton; he now teaches Literature and History at the New School for Social Research. He is the author of The Complete Greek Drama.

THE NATURE OF LIFE

ON BEING HUMAN, by Ashley Montagu (Henry Schuman; $1.95).

ASHLEY MONTAGU, an anthropologist, has produced a brilliant book on the principle of coöperation and its significance. He claims that this principle, not competition or conflict, is the key conception for understanding human relationships. If rightly applied, he believes, it promises a solution to some of our most pressing social problems.

He asserts, further, on the basis of evidence, that coöperation is a fundamental characteristic of all living things, that it is grounded in the reproductive process, and that "the nature of life" is "coöperation." All living things are social in nature, whereby social means "all those interactions between organisms or groups in which needs are satisfied." A "social appetite" is said to be found throughout the kingdom of living forms: in fungi, bacteria, higher plants, and in animals.

In man, certain neuropsychic potentialities plus the long period of infant dependency make human society and culture ("the particular form which characterizes the social activities of a group") not only possible but "inevitable." Culture distinguishes man from the animal. It creates mind, spirit, humanity. And human society is "men in interaction."

Man brings the impulses and potentialities for coöperative behavior with him at birth. They only need proper cultivation. In contradistinction to Hobbesians, Calvinists, Freudians and others, Montagu asserts there "is not a shred of evidence that man is born with 'hostile' or 'evil' impulses which must be watched and disciplined." But frustrating cultural forms and inadequate social institutions do divert human drives into asocial and antisocial channels and limit man's development.

That is a forceful refutation of the views of "the tough Darwinian period of the last century" which assumed that life was "a gladiatorial struggle for existence." Though the facts today increasingly indicate that natural selection favors coöperation—not ruthless competition—traditional ideas linger on in the conceptions of "rugged individualism" and the false notion that competition is the law of life. Montagu claims that social behavior which is not cooperative "is diseased."

In our society, where competitive success is supposedly prized, conflicting ideas and institutions create unsolved dilemmas within us. The author views our society as largely controlled and directed "by criminally irresponsible adventurers and cynical and complacent men who have grown old in the ways of self-interest and ultra-nationalism." So we must abolish "moneytheism." We must replace "the religion of economics" with the religion of coöperation and love.

Since we are all products of society, the good life requires a good society for its existence and development. And here we might learn something from the Australian aborigines. For this people "lives in peace and harmony with its fellows, is quite unacquainted with war, and never does anything from the profit motive."

How, then, can we build a better society? Montagu puts his faith in education of the young by specially trained teachers. The children must be taught the truth about our society, and why and how it must be modified.

Faith and hope in education is part of our American heritage. But many will still feel that Montagu has underestimated the resistance to radical change among people and institutions. No ruling group or class, for example, has ever relinquished its prerogatives without a bitter struggle, using all means at its disposal. Even parents, who embody the values of society, would be likely to view his proposal with suspicion. Numerous other problems would arise. It is not clear, for instance, what sort of economy would replace the present one—a matter of great importance.

But in any case, Dr. Montagu has done a most valuable job in showing how enormously important coöperation is among living things and how necessary it is for a good society and a fruitful life. PATRICK MULLAHY

Patrick Mullahy, lecturer in philosophy at Columbia University, is the author of Oedipus —Myth and Complex *and the editor of* A Study of Interpersonal Relations.

PHRASE OR FACT

THE CURTAIN ISN'T IRON, by Joseph C. Harsch (Doubleday; $2).

CERTAINLY Winston Churchill never need apologize for his ability as a phrase-maker; it would seem that some of his phrases need apologies. More than once a Churchillian phrase has done a disservice to the world. His speech at Fulton, Missouri, is an example.

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent."

It's beautiful, filled with the rolling rhetoric which is one of Churchill's fascinations. But for all its sonorous quality, it is a primary fallacy.

Joseph C. Harsch, radio commentator and distinguished correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, has successfully undertaken a refutation in his book, *The Curtain Isn't Iron*. Harsch uses hard facts acquired at first hand.

"Although we all use the phrase 'iron curtain'," he writes, "acceptance of it as a truly descriptive term has done much, I think, to becloud western thinking

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and western high strategy about Eastern Europe."

Harsch enjoys an excellent reputation as a hard-working, honest and objective correspondent with a high degree of erudition. His judgment is predicated on an undeniable ability as a reporter and leg man. He gets to the core of the problem by underscoring that Russian dominance is not the only, perhaps not even the primary, factor in the Eastern European political and social structure.

I strongly suspect that a large majority in every Eastern European country [he writes] would vote, if it could, to turn the Communists out of government, but I think the vote would be a close one if the question were, Do you want to go back to 1939? The Czechs would probably vote yes on that one. Conceivably the Poles might also. But I suspect that the others prefer 1949, even with the Communists, to 1939 without them. The strength of the iron curtain regimes lies not in their communism but in that when they took power they had ready at hand scores of housekeeping tasks and overdue reforms. They did not neglect their opportunities.

The inability or unwillingness of our diplomats to recognize these facts of life has done much to alienate our friends in all of these countries; not our charming, fair-weather pals, but the friends of democracy—the social democrats. Harsch cites just two of our "diplomats," Arthur Bliss Lane and Richard C. Patterson Jr., accredited to Poland and Yugoslavia respectively. There is no doubt that the activities of these men and their staffs hampered our diplomacy. These men and others seemed obligated to work toward the overthrow of the postwar regimes of the countries to which they were accredited. By itself, the action was reprehensible. But add an abysmal ignorance and lack of knowledge of the region and the wonder is how we managed to maintain diplomatic relations of any sort.

Harsch notes, "Frequently there have been two American hands working in eastern Europe, each cancelling whatever the other has accomplished." Today that has pretty well changed. Competent men such as Cavendish Cannon, who followed Patterson into Belgrade, together with top-flight assistants, have made some progress and worked to undo much of the harm done by their predecessors. However, the Patterson-Lane school remains in important positions in the State Department. Some of McCarthy's best help comes from that branch of our diplomatic tree.

As a keen observer, well-trained and well-informed, Harsch emphasizes the importance of economics in the world today. He has clearly spotlighted the importance of East-West trade in European recovery and world peace. Ten years ago economics, generally speaking, developed from political thought. The trend is the other way now, and Harsch displays courage and foresight in placing the issue in its frame. Trade, not troops, is the solution.

Of course such a solution is too pat. There are many intangible factors, but at least Harsch utilizes the material available today and not the weapons of barbarians. War is not inevitable. But the issue is in Washington, and Harsch does place the responsibility.

As reporting, the chapter devoted to Austria must stand as the best. Since so little has been written about Vienna, overshadowed as it is by Berlin, here is an opportunity to evaluate the East-West conflict dispassionately. The economic aspect is skillfully presented and the ability of the Austrians to govern themselves is evident.

Harsch writes:

Suppose the Berlin blockade had succeeded and the West had lost Berlin. In that case, Russian influence might have jumped forward at one bound at least to the Rhine. It would have been a disaster for the West. A reporter in Vienna gets the feeling that just such a disaster in reverse is a growing possibility in this part of Europe.

Put another way, the author tells you, "All the Austrians had to do to remain independent was to insist on being themselves, not Communists or Russians."

The Curtain Isn't Iron is not the best book on the subject—there are many signs of haste—but it is informative. With present talk of war, Harsch's thoughtful effort goes far to prove the fallacy and futility of our martial thinking.

ARTHUR M. BRANDEL

Arthur M. Brandel has spent six of the past eight years as a reporter on European assignment. He was a correspondent for the New York Times in Italy and the Balkans, and later covered the Berlin airlift for Exchange Telegraph.

BRIEF COMMENT

Quaker Service in Modern War: Spain and France, 1939-1940, by Howard E. Kershner. Introduction by Dorothy Canfield Fisher (Prentice-Hall; $3).

At a time when fear and hysteria are so widespread it is a healthy and heartening experience to find confirmation for whatever faith we have left that man is really more than McCarthy.

Quaker Service in Modern War, by Howard E. Kershner, is just such an experience. It tells of the work of the International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees—an organization, incidentally, not exclusively supported by the American Friends Service Committee, but founded by English Quakers and eventually supported by 24 governments and numerous organizations and individuals.

The book, which Kershner hopes will be part of a trilogy covering ten years of European relief, deals with Quaker activities among the victims of the Spanish Civil War both in Spain and in France. At one point, 350,000 children were being fed daily—a magnificent achievement without which thousands of Spanish children might have died.

The author is at his best when he writes of the extraordinary physical work that went into the job of buying, shipping, trucking, hauling and distributing food and other help to the hungry and the needy. He is heartwarming when he describes the homes and educational institutions set up for Spanish Republican children, many of whom had lost their parents in the war. He is not so happy when he touches political matters.

Kershner didn't like Franco's totalitarianism and said so. Yet throughout the book there is never the slightest indication that he really knew what the war was all about, the profoundly important social, economic and political issues that were in the background and were at stake. He only knew that there were decent men and bad men on both sides and he was sure that somehow they could resolve their differences through good will. I am afraid it was, and still is, not quite so simple. Some of this same naïveté shows in Kershner's fear that the United States, like many parts of Europe, is drifting into the bureaucratic state and losing its initiative.

In the past twelve years I have seen the liberties of the people sapped in one country after another by the expansion of the power of the government until individual freedom is replaced by the colossal, benumbing and terrifying power of the state. And with every return from abroad to my own country I see signs of increased organization. It frightens me. We are in danger.

These words were prompted by a visit to Nazi Germany. Yet it comes as a shock to read in the next paragraph: "To go

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from Germany's atmosphere of suspicion and fright into free and happy Scandinavia was like waking from a cruel night and finding oneself in a cheerful room with life going on in normal patterns."

Surely the author must know that the Scandinavian countries are the most socialized of all Europe and that they seem, on his own evidence, to have managed to remain free. The threat which the modern state makes against the freedom of the individual is real enough, but it is not to be offset by a smple revulsion against the ogre of bureaucracy. ALEXANDER H. UHL

MOVIES: "The Lawless"

UNLIKE THE pseudo-thoughtful pictures mentioned here last week, Paramount's "The Lawless" is motivated by an intelligent concern for present-day society. It was not made lightly or without courage and, if it is not entirely successful, it is yet in a class of importance by itself.

"The Lawless" describes the origin, outbreak and consequence of an irrational wave of violence that might be suffered by any of a number of middle-size American towns this summer. The essential ingredient of the explosion is a fairly large minority group, necessary to the community's economy but leperized and feared for its strangeness and consequent bitterness. In this case the town is in California, the pariahs are Mexican fruit pickers, "fruit bums" to the native bullies.

A fight breaks out at a dance in the foreign section, a Mexican boy in his early teens hits a policeman by mistake, steals a car in panic, and the chase is on. Reporters seeking the front page for their bylines, a mobile television unit exulting in its new power, dramatize and magnify every incident of the manhunt. The boy is a rapist, he is a killer, the able-bodied males of the neighborhood are deputized, the countryside is warned. By the time the terrified fugitive is caught and brought back to jail, the citizenry has become a mob. It has scented a victim and it wants, not justice, but blood. Cheated of the boy, it surges through the streets looking for substitutes, and it finds them. For a period of hours, this quite normal American town is criminally insane, and before the fit passes, shocking and irreparable acts are committed. "The Lawless" reports unflinchingly (but with none of the lip-licking relish to be found sometimes in screen sermons) an orgy sprung from frustration, prejudice and fear.

Social content aside, "The Lawless" is an interesting development in movie form. It is an attempt to cross a documentary with a conventional screen romance in the hope, perfectly natural, that the offspring will have the weight of the former and the salability of the latter. The hybrid is not really successful and it seems unlikely that it could be. Documentary writing is essentially didactic; it seeks to inform and instruct its audience on abstract matters and it employs people as examples to prove its general argument. Its focus is on groups and classes, not on heroes and heroines. An entertainment film is about individuals; their private histories are the point of the story. If you try to reconcile these conflicting approaches, the behavior of the narrative characters becomes stiff and arbitrary and the impact of the documentary is softened by personal asides. Macdonald Carey and Gail Russell, who play the romantic leads in "The Lawless," give sound performances, but they are convincing only when their personal histories are suspended and they are caught up in the current of violence.

Certain techniques of documentary writing have been, and will continue to be, successfully used in "program" films, but in terms of atmospheric verification and certain narrative short cuts. When the purpose of a picture is to record and to editorialize, the producers may fare better in the long run by dropping their narrative formulas and depending on the quality of their journalism to attract the audience. "The Lawless," for example, has one glaring documentary weakness that would probably have been overcome if its makers had not been distracted from their main purpose. The picture describes perfectly what a mob looks like and how it acts, but it fails to show where it comes from or who comprises it. The preparatory scenes are constructed around individuals from the narrative side of the picture; when the mob appears, it seems unrelated to the previous action, and the characters, good or bad, whom we have met earlier are not to be found in it. It sweeps in from outside the community, a crazed army bent on destroying the rational individuals of the picture's romance. This sudden assault from offstage obscures the point that a mob is composed of normal people who have suspended their humanity, it produces an air of unreality that Joseph Losey's almost savagely factual direction cannot overcome.

That is to say, however, only that "The Lawless" is less good than it could have been in theory. It is still exceptional.

Theatre note. Long before it arrived in New York, "Michael Todd's Peep Show" was known to be the most raffish public entertainment to be attempted here since burlesque retired from Broadway. It turns out to be so exceedingly bold that representatives from the city's license bureau drop in for almost every performance and some of the artistes have already curbed their generosity in response to official memoranda. In view of this lurid reputation, it is worth noting that the second-night audience applauded loudest and longest for the Peiro Brothers, two witty, almost insolently dexterous jugglers from Buenos Aires. It laughed most hysterically at a man beating a drum.

This does not prove that the mating call will henceforth go unanswered; it does suggest that the commercialized, mechanized version of sex offered by Mr. Todd is less alluring than he supposes. In fairness, it should be said that the Peiro Brothers and "Peanuts" Mann, the drummer, are shrewd performers who could hold their own against much more capable competition.

The hardest workers in the revue are six male comics identified by such nicknames as "Bozo," "Hi Wilberforce," and the aforementioned "Peanuts." Although their material does not sparkle with invention, it is at least foolproof, having been shaped and polished in one-theatre towns across the country for the past fifty years. The show also,

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and of course, maintains a staff of girls. Most of these are pretty and well-formed but none is strikingly gifted. One, to be sure, has perfected an anatomical specialty act involving tassels, another is unusually double-jointed and a third can carry a tune (no small trick, considering the tunes she is asked to carry).

If "Peep Show" is shocking, it is the shock of recognition: there are no older jokes, no more worn routines than the ones Bobby Clark has assembled for his employer. The audience laughs quite a lot, but mostly, I gathered, at themselves for being there. "Peep Show" is an air-conditioned midway, baited with snickers to catch visiting dollars. There is one such almost every summer, but the first frost kills them. ROBERT HATCH

ON THE AIR: Reference Shelf

FOR TEN YEARS, students in college radio-writing courses have been brought up on Max Wylie's guide to script work, which first appeared in 1939. Now revised completely, enlarged considerably, and spilling over into the new medium of television, this Baedeker to broadcast writing will probably settle into the same rut of longevity. Teachers and students will find it a great convenience: it charts methods, markets and the mechanics of script-building with competence and much technical understanding. But the tour leads through a strange, sterile broadcast-land, bare of any consideration whatever for radio's (or television's) role in society. The emphasis here is on the "practical"—and the term assumes that anything "intellectual" is doomed.

RADIO AND TELEVISION WRITING, by Max Wylie (Rinehart; $6.50).
RADIO AND POETRY, by Milton Allen Kaplan (Columbia University Press; $4.50).
COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH, 1948-49. Edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton (Harper; $4.50).
MASS COMMUNICATIONS, edited by Wilbur Schramm (University of Illinois Press; $4.50).

Wylie and a number of knowing contributors scorn soap opera but discuss it seriously, gag over comedy writing but treat it with respect for its pay, kid the whodunit but esteem its golden lining. There is even a bow to the radio documentary. But only six pages (out of 622) are devoted to Norman Corwin and Archibald MacLeish. The tone is given when, assuring us that the question is not at all flippant, Wylie asks: "Could either . . . write a daytime serial?"

Now Wylie knows that MacLeish never tried to make a living out of radio and that Corwin—for all that he has never been sponsored—has eaten quite regularly, and still does, from his "intellectual," "disembodied" radio writing. Wylie also knows, and several of his contributors reëmphasize the point, that the radio student's hopes for great monetary success are illusory even if he restricts his ambitions to the commercial possibilities of spot announcements or quiz shows. But when it comes to people like Corwin and MacLeish and the kind of radio writing they represent, Wylie insists that their work does not lend itself to study and analysis. Is he merely being practical when he speaks such nonsense, while devoting space and time to the writings of Lowell Thomas, Mona ("Portia Faces Life") Kent and the scripts for Eddie Cantor, Rudy Vallee and Burns & Allen?

Milton Kaplan, whose book often reads like a dissertation for a doctorate, is interested in the exact opposite. Kaplan thinks of poetry, not in terms of verse but in the broader, more classical sense. He asks for writing that takes the intelligence of both scripter and audience into account; tries to find a rapport between them; employs civic responsibility as the cohesive element; does not shy at purpose, prophecy or polemic; is not afraid or ashamed of "anger, hunger and dismay."

Kaplan weakens his own case by lumping too many dissimilar elements into one container. To him, if their pur-

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pose is mature, they are all poets; all radio writers if they have had something on the air. He equates an excellent craftsman like Morton Wishengrad —who is first of all a highly skilled radio technician, and a "poet," if at all, only by virtue of workmanship—with a poet like Ruth Lechlitner, who, to my knowledge, has written one radio script in 20 years (and I'm not sure that show was ever broadcast). But in his own way, Kaplan is realistic. His concern is mature writing, and he is willing to admit candidates no matter what their qualifications as long as honesty is among them. I commend Kaplan not only to the teachers who will lead students in droves to the Wiley well. I recommend Kaplan also to broadcasters. With radio in its present state, could even Hooper guarantee that Sophocles would not sell soap?

Unlike the pair of books on radio writing, the two on mass communications are complementary. The Lazarsfeld-Stanton work is No. 3 in a series of symposia on radio research started before the war. The broader term, *Communications Research, 1948-1949*, reflects an expanded point of view, recognizing the fact that radio as a medium of mass communication cannot be studied separately from the films, press, etc. Schramm, on the same valid assumption, goes one step beyond Lazarsfeld and Stanton. Whereas they specialize in the methodology of research, he provides the basis for philosophic orientation in the field.

The trouble with both volumes is that they make no attempt to organize the study of mass communications into a body of knowledge. The editors give us anthologies. Technicians, pollsters and media specialists reveal their procedures in the Lazarsfeld-Stanton compendium —and suddenly we jump into a long, interesting but totally unrelated article on domestic broadcasting in the Soviet Union. Schramm provides us with much serious thinking, including an important statement on general semantic principles by Wendell Johnson; a cogent anthropologist's view of mass-communications problems by Margaret Mead; a cutting analysis of our failures as seen by Harold D. Lasswell. But nowhere does he try to tie any of the pieces together. The result is a batch of absorbing but eclectic material, whereas the need, recognized but unfulfilled by all three editors, is for a new branch of social science that would give the study of mass communications the status of academic discipline. SAUL CARSON

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Stet!

Senator McCarthy (R, Wis.) said today that he is ready to give Senate investigators the name of a mystery witness who will smear that Owen Lattimore is or was a Communist. – *From the Baton Rouge (La.)* State Times.

The Short Happy Life

The speaker [former Governor James C. Shannon of Connecticut] also decried the amount of worrying done by Americans today. He pointed out that people living today have more advantages than at any other time in history and yet they worry extensively about such developments as the hydrogen bomb. – *From the Danbury* News-Times.

Conspicuous Non-Consumption

"It is our job to make women unhappy with what they have in the way of apparel," says B. Earl Puckett, chairman of Allied Stores Corp. . . . He says that the money that should have gone into new clothes has been going into "excessive savings." – *From the New York* Post.

By All Means

KEEP CHILD
OUT OF SEX
FIEND'S WAY – *Head on Ruth Millett's column in the New York* World-Telegram and Sun.

From the Horse's Mouth

List of subjects to be presented should not be confined to socialized medicine, but should embody health education subjects as well. Then, when requests are received for a speaker on a health education subject, it is always the speaker's prerogative to slip in a few salient points regarding government control and the medical progress which has been achieved under our present system of medical practice. – *From* Medical Economics News, *issued by the Washington State Medical Association.*

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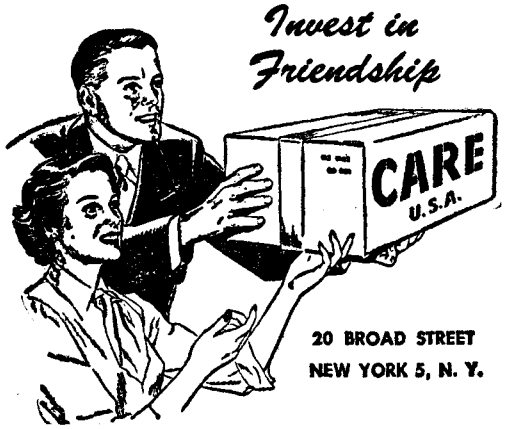

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